The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of.

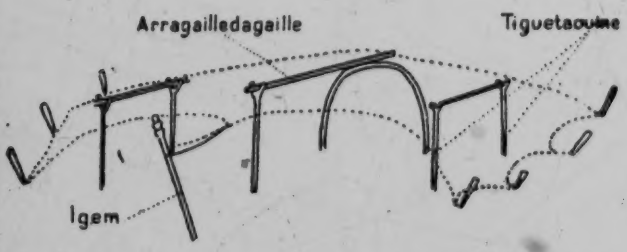

Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth.

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents.

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily.

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because of their exodus toward the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

177 By its agriculture
241 and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.

less and there is no immediate fear of a sudden downpour that might produce flash floods. Each tent is occupied by a single family unit and there are almost never more than 5 or 6 tents at the most in any normal camp. In the camp of the Amenokal there are usually 15 to 20 tents or even more, and one sees no flocks nearby, but this is a wholly artificial situation made possible only by the fact that the Amenokal and his personal retinue receive most of their supplies by truck from the nearest French Army post, and so can live in a way that would be impossible in the Ahaggar under anything approaching normal conditions.

Clothing, Cosmetics and Cleanliness. In the old days the Tuareg used to wear leather shirts that reached below the knee and were sometimes elaborately decorated with fringe. Monod (1947, p. 47) recalls that Herodotus (IV, 189) described Libyan women as wearing fringed garments of red leather some 2,500 years ago, and he adds that some Tuareg women of the Niger Bend country still do so. Lyon (1821, p. 110 and plates facing pp. 110 and 113) tells us that leather shirts were worn by many of the Tuareg who visited Mourzouk while he was there in 1819, but Duveyrier (1864, p. 406) found that they were already becoming scarce only 40 years later. The present writer has seen no leather clothing worn by anyone in the Ahaggar, although Benhazera (1908, p. 37) says that poor folk wore leather clothes there 50 years ago while Reygasse (1950, p. 97) states that leather shirts are still worn by some of the slaves and Capot-Rey (1953, p. 226) adds that they are often worn by smiths.

Another once characteristic article of Tuareg dress that has now gone largely out of use was the high, conical fezlike cap, made of soft red felt and worn sticking up through the middle of the turban, that Lyon (1821) saw at Mourzouk. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 424, footnote) says that caps of this kind were "obnoxious to the" Tuareg "tribes of pure blood" in 1850 but this is probably either an error or a matter of local eccentricity, for they were still standard equipment in Duveyrier's time. They disappeared almost completely from the Ahaggar, however, in the course of the next 50 years or less although

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the [312] tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved 492 pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and 342 the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, 592 his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar" [illegible] , and [192] a single tent "ehan" [illegible] , plural "ehanan" [illegible] .

Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

Chapter XV

Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called 264 "tarout" [illegible] . In the evening the Tuareg is

356
342 /89 cont./ awaits its ration of millet, but one never sees any
[394] disorder or rubbish. A camp may have been at a site for a few hours or for several months, but on the day of its departure there is never the least broken object left at the place; the Tuareg leave behind them neither domestic refuse nor any other mark of their presence.

342 The tent is occupied by the family in the most limited sense of the term. When a man marries he takes a tent and
• [592] lives in it with his wife; children up to nine years of age stay with their parents, but after that they have their own tent.

In the agricultural centers the harratin lodge either in a zériba of tahli, made like that of the Tuareg, or in a house constructed with toubs or with stones held together with tin (clay). The house is covered with a coat of tin spread on a foundation of tahli supported by a framework of fersig or /90/ éthel branches; the roof is flat. The door generally opens toward the west, and there is a small opening to the east; this system protects the houses from the heat of the midday sun. Such a structure would be unhealthy in other climates; here it doesn't matter, the family lives outdoors. In winter everyone huddles together at night around a fire in the single room in order to keep as warm as possible, but all leave the house at sunrise. The floor of these houses is covered with fine gravel from the wadi, and this is changed fairly often. The vicinity of the hartani dwelling is much less clean than that of the Tuareg tent; ashes are scattered about and refuse dries in the sun.

000 Only Tamanrasset has houses used by Europeans. Toubs are always used to construct them, although recently atone plastered with tin has been tried for certain administration buildings. Up to now the lack of lime has hindered "hard" construction; attempts have been made to make lime from cipolin, but the cost per kilogram is nearly as high as for lime imported from Algiers.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 [632] Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n' butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 [851] [553] 422 592 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic unit of closely related stock-owners.

422 *233 [114] [578] [602] All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which 422 *233 565 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

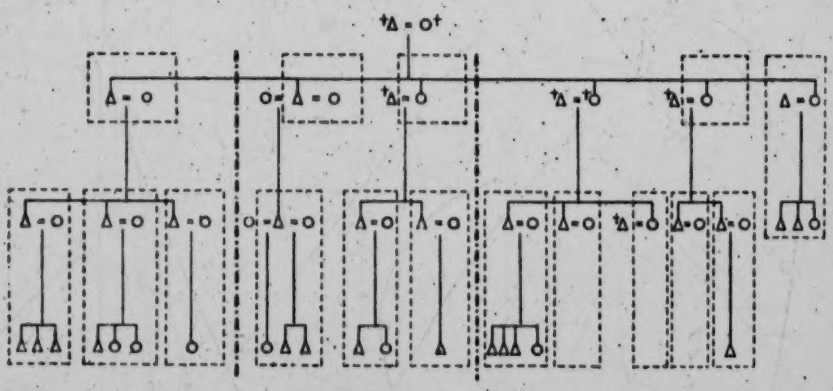

Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Azerwan* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aghan-en-tehlf*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections of foreign tribes.

When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use. But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large, for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few households also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported